

## Message Text

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ACTION PM-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 AEC-11 OIC-04 IO-12 ACDA-19 OMB-01

H-02 RSR-01 /143 W

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R 051139 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4864

USIA WASHDC

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL; HELSINKI FOR MPT DEL

MOSCOW FOR KISSINGER PARTY

E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, EEC, GW

SUBJECT: US/ FRG RELATIONS: RECENT PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

1. SUMMARY: BASED ON PRESS COVERAGE, THIS MESSAGE REPORTS ON FOUR POLLS RECENTLY CONDUCTED IN GERMANY ON US/ FRG AND US/ EUROPEAN RELATIONS BY THE ALLENSBACH, INFAS/ INFRATEST, MARPLAN AND WICKERT ORGANIZATIONS. TAKEN AS A WHOLE, THE POLLS SEEM TO SUGGEST: ( A) CONTINUED STRONG PERCEPTION OF NATO AND PARTICULARLY US TROOP PRESENCE AS CORE OF NECESSARY FRG/ WEST EUROPEAN DEFENSE AND SECURITY; ( B) SOME PREFERENCE FOR INCREASED EUROPEAN DEFENSE EFFORTS VICE PAYMENT OF US TROOP STATIONING COSTS; ( C) BELIEF THAT US/ FRG RELATIONS ARE GOOD, AND ARE NOT DETERIORATING; ( D) FRIENDSHIP FOR US AMONG GERMANS REMAINS FAR ABOVE THAT OF OTHER MAJOR STATES BUT HAS DECLINED SOMEWHAT IN RELATIVE TERMS; ( E) STRIKINGLY LOW FIGURE ( TEN (10) PERCENT) IN ONE POLL FOR FRIENDSHIP WITH UK. SOME OF THE KEY POLL DATA REPORTED BELOW. END SUMMARY.

2. ALLENSBACH FINDINGS-- DPA AND THE MAY 3 ISSUE OF STERN MAGAZINE REPORT THAT BEFORE CHANCELLOR BRANDT LEFT FOR HIS TALKS IN THE US WITH PRESIDENT NIXON, HE WAS PROVIDED WITH POLLING DATA ON US/ GERMAN RELATIONS BY THE ALLENSBACH INSTITUTE. ACCORDING TO ALLENSBACH, FIFTY (50) PERCENT OF THOSE POLLED IN MARCH SAID RELATIONS HAD REMAINED THE SAME, TEN (10) PERCENT SAID THEY HAD RATHER IMPROVED, TWENTY- SEVEN (27) PERCENT FELT THEY HAD RATHER WORSENCED AND THIRTEEN (13) PERCENT DIDN' T KNOW; I. E., SIXTY (60) PERCENT SAID RELATIONS WERE EITHER THE SAME OR BETTER. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE US AND EUROPE HAD IN THE OPINION OF FORTY- ONE (41) PERCENT REMAINED THE SAME, TWELVE (12) PERCENT FELT IT HAD IMPROVED, THIRTY- THREE (33) PERCENT THOUGHT IT HAD WORSENCED AND FOURTEEN (14) PERCENT DIDN' T KNOW; I. E., FIFTY- THREE (53) PERCENT CONSIDERED US/ EUROPEAN RELATIONS THE SAME OR BETTER BUT THIRTY- THREE (33) PERCENT-- SOMEWHAT HIGHER THAN FOR US/ FRG RELATIONS-- SAW A WORSENCING TREND. FACED WITH THE ALTERNATIVE WHETHER AMERICA SHOULD COPE WITH ITS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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PROBLEM ALONE OR WEST EUROPE SHOULD SUPPORT THE AMERICANS: THIRTY- THREE (33) PERCENT OPTED FOR THE FIRST THESIS, FORTY- FIVE (45) PERCENT FOR " SUPPORT" AND TWENTY- TWO (22) PERCENT WERE UNDECIDED. HOWEVER, ONLY TWENTY (20) PERCENT WERE FOR PAYMENT OF US TROOP STATIONING COSTS " BECAUSE WE NEED THE AMERICANS". THIRTY- FIVE (35) PERCENT WANTED TO SEE EUROPEAN TROOP STRENGTH INCREASED ON THE GROUNDS THAT " THE MORE WE ARE ABLE TO DEFEND OURSELVES ( EUROPE) THE BETTER". TWENTY- SEVEN (27) PERCENT FELT THAT THE US SHOULD WITHDRAW TROOP CONTINGENTS FROM EUROPE WITHOUT A COMPENSATING EUROPEAN REARMAMENT. FINALLY, ALLENSBACH REPORTEDLY INFORMED THE CHANCELLOR THAT " ANTI- AMERICANISM" HAD REACHED ITS CLIMAX IN 1956 UNDER A CDU GOVERNMENT, AT WHICH TIME FIFTY- ONE (51) PERCENT HAD FAVERED WITHDRAWAL OF US

TROOPS FROM EUROPE WHILE ONLY TWNETY- TWO (22) PERCENT HAD BEEN AGAINST SUCH A MOVE.

3. INFAS/ INFRATEST-- THE INFAS/ INFRATEST POLLS TAKEN AMONG ROUGHLY 1,000 RESPONDENTS FOR THE GERMAN SECOND TV CHANNEL REVELAED THAT TWO THIRDS OF THE RESPONDENTS CONSIDERED US/ FRG RELATIONS " VERY GOOD" OR " GOOD" AND DEEMED US TROOP PRESENCE ESSENTIAL. ROUGHLY EIGHTY (80) PERCENT CONSIDERED THE FRG AND WEST EUROPE ALLIANCE WITH THE US " ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY". BUT FORTY (40) PERCENT CLAIMED TO HAVE NOTED AN INCREASINGLY CRITICAL ATTITUDE AMONG THE POPULATION TOWARD THE US.

4. MARPLAN-- FIFTY- THREE (53) PERCENT OF A NATIONAL SAMPLE SURVEY TAKEN APRIL 14-15, WITH USIA SUPPORT, HAD A " GOOD" OR " VERY GOOD" OPINION OF THE US AS A COUNTRY; ONLY EIGHT (8) PERCENT EXPRESSED DISAPPROVAL. ( THIS LEVEL OF FAVORABLE FEELING IS SUBSTANTIALLY LOWER THAN IN THE 1960' S BUT REPRESENTS LITTLE CHANGE OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS, PARTICULARLY IN THE PROPORTION EXPRESSING A BAD OPINION OF THE US). FAVORABLE FEELING IS CONSIDERABLY LESS WIDE- SPREAD ( THIRTY- SIX (36) PERCENT ) AMONG THOSE WITH UNIVERSITY TRAINING OR " ABITUR" CERTIFICATES. A SUBSTANTIAL PROPORTION ( FORTY- TWO (42) PERCENT) FEEL THAT MAJOR PROBLEMS EXIST BETWEEN THE US AND FRG, ALTHOUGH A LIKE NUMBER ( FORTY (40) PERCENT) DENY THE EXISTENCE OF MAJOR DIFFERENCES. THE MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED PROBLEMS-- NAMED BY ABOUT ONE THIRD OF THE RESPONDENTS-- ARE ECONOMIC, PARTICULARLY MONETARY MATTERS. A VERY LARGE MAJORITY ( SEVENTY- THREE (73) PERCENT STILL CONSIDER NATO " IMPORTANT" TO WEST EUROPEAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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SECURITY; THIS FIGURE IS NINETY (90) PERCENT AMONG THE BETTER EDUCATED. MOREOVER, A MAJORITY ( FIFTY- NINE (59) PERCENT) RETAIN AT LEAST A " FAIR AMOUNT" OF CONFIDENCE IN NATO'S ABILITY TO DEFEND WEST EUROPE. WHEN ASKED TO NAME " COUNTRIES" WHICH COULD PROVIDE THE FRG WITH DEFENSE ASSISTANCE, HALF THE GERMAN PUBLIC AND SEVENTY (70) PERCENT OF THE EDUCATED ELITE CITED NATO, AND THE US RANKED SECOND FAR ABOVE ANY OTHER ALLIANCE MEMBERS, THUS SUGGESTING SOME DEGREE OF IDENTITY IN THE MINDS OF RESPONDENTS BETWEEN THE DEFENSE GUARANTEE OF NATO AND THE US. SIXTY- THREE (63) PERCENT FAVORED MAINTAINING US TROOP STRENGTH AT LEAST AT THE PRESENT LEVEL ( INCLUDING SIX (6) PERCENT FAVORING AN INCREASE) WHILE TWENTY- EIGHT (28) PERCENT FAVORED AN UNSPECIFIED REDUCTION IN US FORCE LEVELS ( INCLUDING NINE (9) PERCENT FAVORING TOTAL WITHDRAWAL); THESE FIGURES REPRESENT A SLIGHT IMPROVEMENT OVER LAST FALL'S EMNID POLL. COST IS THE PRIMARY REASON CITED BY THE TWENTY- EIGHT (28) PERCENT MINORITY FAVORING US FORCES REDUCTION, VERY FEW OF THIS MINORITY PERCEIVED A LESSENED WAR DANGER OR AN INCREASED GERMAN CAPACITY FOR SELF- DEFENSE; AMERICAN TROOP BEHANIOR IN GERMANY WAS NOT CITED AS A FACTOR IN THIS CONTEXT. AS TO THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF FRG EASTERN AND WESTERN

POLICY SIXTY- THREE (63) PERCENT FAVORED EQUAL PRIORITY, TWENTY (20) PERCENT PLACED PRIORITY ON WESTPOLITIK AND ELEVEN (11) PERCENT ON OSTPOLITIK. FIFTY- SIX (56) PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS ( AND NINETY- TWO (92) PERCENT OF THE EDUCATED ELITE) INDICATED AWARENESS OF THE CSCE; OF THOSE AWARE, SIXTY- SEVEN (67) PERCENT OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC ( AND EIGHTY- THREE (83) PERCENT OF THE ELITE) EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM AND EXPECT THE CONFERENCE TO HAVE A GENERALLY BENEFICIAL EFFECT FOR THEIR COUNTRY. FINALLY, WHILE THE GREAT MAJORITY ( EIGHTY- THREE (83) PERCENT) KNEW THE AMERICAN DOLLAR HAS BEEN DEVALUED RECENTLY, SIXTY- FOUR (64) PERCENT CONTINUE TO REGARD THE US AS THE WORLD'S STRONGEST ECONOMIC POWER AS AGAINST ONLY TWENTY- FOUR (24) PERCENT FOR THE EEC AS THE SECOND RANKED POWER; BUT THE GAP HAS NARROWED FROM A 57 POINT DIFFERENCE A YEAR AGO TO 40 POINTS THIS YEAR; JAPAN AND THE SOVIET UNION TRAIL FAR BEHIND.

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5. WICKERT FINDINGS-- QUERIED BY WICKERT IN RELATIVE TERMS CONCERNING THE FOREIGN COUNTRY FOR WHICH THEY HAD THE GREATEST FEELING FOR FRIENDSHIP, ALMOST 2,000 RESPONDENTS VOTED FORTY (40) PERCENT FOR FRIENDSHIP WITH THE US, TWENTY (20) PERCENT VIS A VIS FRANCE, SEVENTEEN (17) PERCENT FOR THE USSR AND ONLY TEN (10) PERCENT FOR THE UK. THE FORTY (40) PERCENT US FIGURE CONTRASTS WITH FORTY- SEVEN (47) PERCENT LAST MARCH AND SEVENTY- NINE (79) PERCENT IN OCTOBER 1972. COMMENT: THE WICKERT POLL INDICATES THAT FRIENDSHIP FOR THE US AMONG GERMANS REMAINS FAR ABOVE THAT OF OTHER MAJOR STATES BUT HAS DECLINED SOMEWHAT IN RELATIVE TERMS. INTERESTINGLY, IT SUGGESTS THAT NO ONE COUNTRY ENJOYS A PRIMARY FRIENDSHIP OF A CLEAR MAJORITY OF GERMANS, ALTHOUGH THE US FIGURE OF FROTY (40) PERCENT APPROACHES THAT MAJORITY FIGURE. THE SEVENTEEN (17) PERCENT FIGURE FOR THE USSR REMAINS RELATIVELY LOW. IT SHOULD BE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE IS CONSIDERABLE SKEPTICISM AMONG SOME OBSERVERS CONCERNING THE LEVEL OF PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS EMPLOYED BY WICKERT. IN THE APRIL 18 ISSUE OF STERN, IT IS ALLEGED THAT WICKERT IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE RELEVANT MARKET RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS, DOES NOT UTILIZE SERIOUS POLLING TECHNIQUES AND HAS A BAD RECORD AT PREDICTION. THIS LAST POINT HAS ALSO BEEN MADE BY THE HEAD OTHE ALLENSBACH INSTITUTE.

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